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# THE SONG OF DEOR

## I

One of the most striking characteristics of early Germanic poetry is its fondness for the didactic mood. Wise saws and modern instances poke their solemn visages into all kinds of verse in a way very annoying to readers at the present day. The epic tranquillity of *Beowulf* is thus interrupted; the dramatic intensity of many of the Eddic lays suffers for a similar reason, and the Anglo-Saxon lyric poems, which are among the finest survivals of "the long Gothic night," are honeycombed with hortatory digressions. In the *Wanderer* there is certainly a great deal of moralizing, the *Seafarer* sails straight into the doldrums of didacticism, while the piece with which we here have to deal, the *Song of Deor*, is a veritable *Consolatio Philosophiae* of minstrelsy. That stoic courage in the face of misfortune which was so prominent a trait of our Germanic ancestors is here strikingly illustrated by the endurance of great heroes and heroines of song and story, and by an apparently intimate revelation of the poet's own troubles and moral victory. Many qualities make the piece noteworthy—its stanzaic structure and refrain, its allusions to heroic saga, its interesting suggestion of minstrel life, its charm and simplicity of expression. It stands quite alone, indeed, among Anglo-Saxon lyrics, with its singing quality, and its complete subordination to a single theme. But this theme is not, as is usually stated, the misfortunes of Deor; it is rather the message of hope which the singer utters—"Old troubles have passed, and present ones may!"

It is with the purpose of clearing up certain misconceptions in regard to this piece that the following article has been written. The poem is full of obscurities. In particular, the third strophe, which cites the experiences of "Hild," or "Maethhild," and a mysterious "Geat," has never been satisfactorily explained. Although the minstrel thinks a bare reference sufficient, and remarks, confidentially, that the business is familiar, we know little more about these figures than scholars did sixty years ago, when Thorpe first pub-

lished his edition of the Exeter Book. Furthermore, the passage which has generally been thought a Christian interpolation, as well as the name Deor itself and the information which the minstrel gives about his fortunes at the court of the Heodenings, much needs elucidation. Of still greater importance is the interpretation of the poem as a whole, in regard to which there is much variety of opinion. Even Professor Gummere, in his admirable volume of translations from Anglo-Saxon poetry,[1] appears to have been undecided on some points, and to have erred in others, as when he states it as "probable that Deor must pass for a definite man," and interprets the third stanza as a reference to "Odila." A careful examination of the poem will, I think, reveal that it deals with an imaginary situation, worked up at a later time, the "autobiographical" evidence at the end really proving that the piece is not autobiographical at all.

Unfortunately, all these perplexing questions cannot be definitively settled. The text is frequently corrupt, and allusions are too vague to make certain identification possible. The more such difficulties are studied, the less ready one is to dogmatize about them. But there are many matters which may, I think, be put in a much clearer light. A review of the whole poem, with certain suggestions not hitherto made, will at least give a better understanding of the obscurities of the text, and provide an introduction to the probable solution of the larger problems.

## II

"Wayland learned bitterly banishment's ways," begins the singer. "Nithhad forged fetters on his limbs; his companions were Care and Longing." However—

> Þæs oferēode; Þisses swā mæg!

The misfortunes of Beadohild, of Hild (or, as some have thought, of Maethhild), of Dietrich of Bern, and of the peoples oppressed by Eormanric are passed in review. After each strophe the same refrain recurs, forming a sort of *leitmotiv* for the whole piece. The fifteen lines following, which close the poem, introduce a passage of different character, and give a brief account of troubles which the present singer has himself had in the past. These lines must be quoted in full.

[1] *The Oldest English Epic* (New York, 1909).

Siteð sorgcearig, sǣlum bidǣled,
on sefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð,
þæt sȳ endelēas earfoða dǣl.

Mæg þonne geþencan, þæt geond þās woruld
wītig dryhten wendeþ geneahhe
eorle monegum, āre gescēawað,
wīslīcne blæd, sumum wēana dæl.

Þæt ic bi mē sylfum secgan wille
þæt ic hwīle wæs Heodeninga scop,
dryhtne dȳre: mē wæs Dēor noma.
Āhte ic fela wintra folgað tilne,
holdne hlāford, oþ þæt Heorrenda nū,
lēoðcræftig monn, londryht geþāh,
þæt mē eorla hlēo ær gesealde.
þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg![1]

Before discussing the interpretation of the poem as a whole, it is necessary to understand clearly the significance of its haunting refrain. Professor Gummere's rendering, which is virtually the same as Thorpe's, gives it in each case a personal application to the singer and his troubles. After the Wayland strophe,

That he surmounted; so this may I!

After the strophe mentioning the victims of Eormanric,

That they surmounted: so this may I!

Professor Brandl, in a recent analysis, says, "Deor vergleicht nun sein Leid mit dem verschiedener Sagenhelden und -heldinnen."[2] Mr. Stopford Brooke,[3] Professor Charlton Lewis,[4] and others indicate a similar conception of the situation in their renderings. Possibly this may be right, but it should be noted that *mæg* is not in the first person, but the third. To translate *þisses swā mæg* "so this may I!" really gives a false idea of the construction, as is evident when the phrase is taken in connection with the first half-line. The use of the genitive *þæs* with *oferēode* indicates that the verb is impersonal, while *ofergān* in the active sense is followed by the accusative; cf. *Beow.*, 1409, 2960; *Andreas*, 820, 826, 862, and the

[1] Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, I, 280. I have changed the punctuation in some cases, and added the marks of quantity.

[2] Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), II, 975.

[3] *History of Early English Literature* (New York, 1892), 6.

[4] Cook and Tinker, *Translations from Old English Poetry*, 58.

examples in the Bosworth-Toller lexicon.[1] The line *þæt þæs cynerīces ofercumen wǣre*, "that the kingdom should be overcome," in this very poem forms an interesting parallel. It should be remembered, then, that *mæg* in the second half-line is in the third person, continuing this construction, with *ofergān* understood, and not in the first person, as the rendering "so this may I!" suggests. Perhaps the simplest rendering in English would be "That passed over; this likewise may!" Brandl's translation, "das ging vorüber; dieses (gehe vorüber) wie es kann," requires a more elaborate ellipsis, and I venture to think is not so much in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom. But what does "this" refer to? That the singer is not drawing a parallel between the various *exempla* and his own ill-luck at the court of the Heodenings is sufficiently shown by the fact that after citing his own experiences he repeats the refrain, just as he did after each of the historical instances preceding. The *þisses* of the refrain, then, cannot stand for the misfortunes of the singer, unless he is referring to other and more present woes than those at the court of the Heodenings.

It will be observed that in each instance in which the refrain is used, the *þæs* points to the calamity which has just been alluded to—the maiming of Wayland, the shame of Beadohild, and so forth. Similarly, in l. 42 the *þæs* must refer to the troubles of Deor among the Heodenings. To translate the last refrain of all "He has his day, he overcame," as Professor Lewis does, or "That he surmounted, so this may I!" as Professor Gummere does, or to say, as Professor Brandl has, "diese alle, und auch Deors Rivale, überwanden ihr Leid, nur Deor muss ungetröstet bleiben," is to read into the poem a meaning which is directly contrary to the sense. Professor Gummere has evidently felt the weakness of this rendering, for he questions, in a note to this line, who the "he" may be, and suggests that the refrain may perhaps be a kind of echo. This is highly unsatisfactory. The natural reply to Professor Brandl is that there is no mention of more than one rival, namely Heorrenda, and no indication that he had anything to surmount; quite the reverse, indeed, since he got the place which had once been Deor's own.

Thorpe's rendering of this final refrain is, "that I surmounted;

[1] Cf. also Shipley, *The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Baltimore, 1903), 18, 50.

so may I this!" That is to say, present woes to the singer, which are not further particularized, are contrasted with the troubles at the Heodening court. Ten Brink favors a similar interpretation.[1] This may be correct, and at least it makes sense, but there is no direct evidence to prove it. The whole piece seems most easily interpreted as a general poem of consolation, applicable to anyone in present trouble. Rieger, in an inconspicuous note in an article dealing with another subject, made a suggestion to this effect,[2] and Professor Gummere himself seems to have considered this a possible solution to the difficulties of the closing lines. This view of the poem as a whole is confirmed by more careful examination.

Lines 28–34, which form the beginning of the passage quoted above, are generally regarded as spurious. Brandl remarks, "Sie passen durchaus nicht in die Komposition herein, gehören zu den sichersten Interpolationen, die man in ags. Poesie aufdecken kann, waren aber vielleicht der Anlass, dass ein so privates Gelegenheitsgedicht aufgezeichnet und gerettet wurde."[3] Obviously, however, the way to interpret the poem is not to excise whatever is disturbing to modern taste, or to preconceived ideas of the situation which it sets forth, but to seek for a reasonable explanation on the basis of the text as it stands. And is it so certain that all this is an interpolation? The Christian coloring, which affects only the last four lines, does not seem a sufficient reason for sacrificing the passage, any more than if the lines occurred in *Beowulf*. The futility of attempting to separate Christian and heathen conceptions in that poem is now well recognized, Professor Brandl having been one of the foremost to adopt that view.[4] It is possible, of course, that ll. 31–34 may be a later insertion, made to give the whole a religious turn. They are awkward in syntax, and muddy in thought, and their philosophy is not quite that of the refrain, although not contrary to it. But such reproaches do not hold for ll. 28–30, and there seems to be no reason to find them at variance with the rest of the piece. They enter somewhat abruptly; possibly something may have been lost at this point. Wülker notes that the poem is "jedenfalls

[1] *History of English Literature* (New York, 1889; transl. by Kennedy), 61.

[2] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VII, 30. [3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] "Wer die unheidnischen Elemente aus dem *Beowulf* Epos vollständig entfernen will, muss es umdichten."—Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 1003.

uns nur lückenhaft überliefert."[1] It is undeniably in bad shape, and copied by an unintelligent scribe.

The irregularity of the strophic structure need not disturb us, and the efforts of critics to establish a uniform number of lines in each strophe may safely be disregarded. The strophes here seem to be of native origin, and not imitated from the Scandinavian. There are no signs of the characteristic Norse types, such as the *ljóðsháttr*, which appears in the so-called *First Riddle of Cynewulf*, nor any evidences of Scandinavian idiom such as appear in that poem.[2] The presence of strophes in West-Germanic verse, while unusual, does not necessarily indicate that foreign influences have been at work. There is so little lyrical poetry in Anglo-Saxon that it is dangerous to draw sweeping conclusions. Much of this verse has undoubtedly been lost. Probably the metrical structure of Deor's lay indicates that stanzaic lyrical poetry with refrain, which there is every reason to suppose was a heritage of the Anglo-Saxon folk, had affected more conscious and artistic productions. The earlier strophic verse was in all likelihood irregular. Sievers notes[3] that even in northern poetry regularity of structure first developed in artistic rather than in popular productions, and he further points out a similar situation in Old High German. There is really no necessity of assuming that the Anglo-Saxons must have reduced all their stanzas to one pattern, in occasionally making use of this form in the midst of writing prevailingly stichic.

Whether interpolated or not, the lines which strike us at first as an interruption of the lyric sweep of the whole are seen to be really quite in accord with its structure, making plainer its message. When one is overwhelmed with sorrow and discouragement, let him remember how many have suffered and overcome, Wayland, Beadohild, Hild, Theodric, the Goths—even the singer himself has had his woes at the court of the Heodenings. But old troubles have passed, and present ones may! The "this" of the refrain refers, then, to the

[1] *Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur*, 334.

[2] Cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVII, 250 ff. I thought it possible that *Deor* had been affected by Scandinavian verse and was inclined to minimize the probable extent of strophic poetry in England. A private letter from Professor W. P. Ker has done much to clear up my ideas on this matter.

[3] *Altgermanische Metrik* (1893), 19.

present trouble which a Sorrowful Person—possibly, but not necessarily, Deor himself—is now enduring. The gloomy mood expressed in the lines

Siteð sorgcearig, sǣlum bidǣled,
on swefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð,
þaet sȳ endelēas earfoða dǣl,

is thoroughly characteristic of the group of lyrical poems to which the *Song of Deor* belongs, whether the person referred to as "sitting full of sorrow" is Deor himself, or merely any dejected person who meditates, like the Wanderer, on the misfortunes of this earthly life. But while the Wanderer conjures up rather barren gnomic commonplaces—*Wita sceal gepyldig*, and the like—Deor's philosophy is cheerful and practical, "Old troubles have passed, and present ones may!"

The whole poem, then, is not a complaint, but a consolation. It is personal and lyric in so far as the singer cites his own experiences to enforce his moral. There is no way of telling that he may not have had present woes of his own in mind when he says *þisses swā mœg!* but there is nothing to indicate it, and ll. 28 ff. are certainly general rather than personal. This interpretation of the piece is confirmed by an examination of the "autobiographical" passage, ll. 35 ff., which, when closely analyzed, shows that Deor is really a literary lay-figure—a very lifelike one, indeed, but an imaginary creation, none the less. This passage will be clearer if the puzzling "Maethhild" stanza is first disposed of. To this, then, we may now direct our attention.

## III

Wē þæt mæð Hilde monge gefrugnon:
wurdon grundlēase Gēates frige,
þæt *him* sēo sorglufu slǣp ealne binōm.
Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg![1]

The text in the Exeter Book reads *þæt mæð hilde*. With the exception of Grein (in the *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie* and in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, X), the editors and critics have generally made the two syllables into a single proper name, *Mæðhilde*. So Thorpe, Rieger,

[1] The Grein-Wülker text, with the emendation *ealne* for *ealle* in l. 16, and the indications of quantity added.

Ettmüller, Kemble, Kluge, Klaeber,[1] and others. But this lady "Maethhild" has never been identified nor the whole passage satisfactorily explained on this basis. The scribe wrote *mæð hilde* as two separate words, which affords some evidence that they are to be interpreted as such, although the MSS sometimes divide proper names, and the present scribe was a stupid fellow.[2] Moreover, the syntax is awkward and unusual, if permissible. *þæt Mæðhilde* cannot, of course, mean "illam Mathildam," and such a translation as Thorpe's "that of Mæthhilde we many have heard," besides doing violence to Anglo-Saxon idiom, makes an awkward transition to what follows. This was evidently felt by Rieger, who read *be Mæðhilde,* and assumed the loss of a line after 14. In view of these considerations, it is certainly better, if possible, to keep the reading of the MS, which, as we shall see, will involve no conjectural emendations.[3]

Grein proposed a translation in his *Sprachschatz* which has had considerable acceptance. He read *mǣð Hilde,* and suggested that the line might allude to the violation of Odila, the wife of Sifeca, as related in the *Thidrekssaga.*[4] *mǣð* he interpreted as "violatio," connecting it with ON *meida,* "violare," a very plausible idea. But his view of the passage suffers from the obvious defect that the name is not Odila, but Hild. Dr. J. H. Tupper thought that "the explanation would be accepted at once but for the difficulty of accounting for the name Hild instead of Odila." This defect he attempted

[1] For Klaeber's discussion, see *Anglia Beiblatt,* XVII, 283.

[2] Compare the confusion which he has made in the first line—*Weland himbe wurman wræces cunnade.* Wülker's reading seems to be the best, *be warnum wræces,* "W. for himself through hardships had experience of exile." Whatever is done with *himbe wurman, wræces cunnade* makes a perfect half-line, with complete sense.

[3] I am greatly indebted to the Reverend Chancellor Edmunds, of Exeter Cathedral, who has examined the passage in the Codex, and made a tracing as proof of the complete separation of the words *mæð* and *hilde,* and informed me that they "are written with the usual space between them." For a full list of editorial conjectures I refer the reader to the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek,* I, 279. It will be noted that the name "Mæðhilde" is unusual in Anglo-Saxon, to say the least, no occurrence of it (save the conjecture for this poem) being listed in Searle's *Onomasticon Saxonicum.*

[4] "Nehmen wir *Hild* einfach als Name der Gemahlin des Sifeca (Sifka), die in der altn. Thidrekssaga *Odila* heiszt, so stimmt unsere Stelle völlig zur Erzälung jener Saga, und *þæt mǣð Hilde* ist die Schändung der Hild (*Odila*) durch Eormanrich; um diese Schmach an Eormanrich zu rächen, verräth Sifka nicht nur dessen Söhne, sondern reizt ihn auch durch falschen Rat, seinem Blutsfreund Thidrek nach dem Leben zu stellen, der aber mit den Seinem entflieht: auf diese Flucht beziehen sich die Worte *wurdon grundlēase Gēates frige,* heimatlos wurden die Gothenmannen."—Grein, *Sprachschatz,* sub *mæð.*

to remove by assuming that the little-known name Odila had been supplanted by a more familiar one.[1] One must agree with Professor Klaeber that this is an "optimistische Ansicht . . . . schwach begründet."[2]

Evidently, before this line can be cleared up, the remainder of the stanza must be carefully considered. Grein translated *wurdon grundlēase Gēates frige* "heimatlos wurden die Gothenmänner," still further carrying out his interpretation of the line preceding. This view has been pretty generally accepted. Koegel renders the entire passage "Es wurden grundlos (landlos, heimatlos) die Gotenmänner (*Geátes frîge*, die Edlen des *Gaut*) so dass ihnen die Sehnsucht (das Heimweh) den Schlaf ganz benahm."[3] Professor Gummere favors this rendering, and Professor Brandl, in his discussion of the lyric in Paul's *Grundriss*,[4] paraphrases "Die Gauten verloren ihren Heimatbesitz."

There seems to me little doubt that this is wrong, and that Professor Klaeber is right in favoring the earlier interpretation, and arguing for "die liebe des Geat war grenzenlos, so dass liebesqual (quälende liebe) ihm allen schlaf nahm." He points out other occurrences of this motive in Germanic poetry, the *locus classicus* being the *Skirnismál*. The Balder-Nanna passage in Saxo, the Hithinus-Hilde passage in Saxo, and the humorous *Thrymskviða* also afford illustrations. The principal difficulty with the other reading is in straining *grundlēas* to mean "heimatlos." The usual meaning of the word is "boundless," "immense"; cf. examples in Bosworth-Toller's *Lexicon*. No other instance of its meaning "homeless" exists, as far as I know. *Grund* regularly means "abyss," "profundity"; cf. *grundfūs*, "bound for hell," where such an interpretation as Grein's would make it mean equally well "bound for home!"[5]

[1] *Modern Language Notes* (1895), 125 f.

[2] *Anglia Beiblatt, loc. cit.* It does not seem worth while to criticize this argument of Tupper's further here, especially since acceptance of his view would depend on the interpretation of the closing lines of the poem. See below, pp. 20 ff.

[3] *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, I, 151. [4] II, 975.

[5] For detailed criticism, see Klaeber, *loc. cit.* Stopford Brooke, *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, 462, had already called attention to the parallel in the *Skirnismál*. But there is no similarity beyond that in the love-motive. Frey is not Geat, and Gerd is not Hilde. Brooke's explanation "if Geat be derived from *gēotan*, 'to pour,' it harmonizes with the character of Frey," etc., will convince nobody.

To return once more to the preceding line, we now see an added reason for reading in it a feminine proper name, rather than some such word as *mæghilde* or *mægðhilde*, as Müllenhoff suggested. Since the "Maethhild" interpretation lacks any direct support, it seems best to assume that the true reading is the very common name Hilde. Grein's translation of *mæð* as "violatio" has the merit of involving no alteration in the text, and receives a certain additional confirmation from the fact that the preceding *exemplum* has been that of a woman whose misfortune was of this character. The mention of Beadohild might well lead to another instance of dishonor in love. In the corrupt state of the text, however, it is not possible to make a more definite statement than this. One might, for example, read *þā mægð Hilde*. Leaving these uncertainties, let us look at the interpretation of the stanza as a whole.

Surely the most familiar Hilde of Germanic story is that distressed maiden whose name was in later times linked with that of Gudrun, and whose fortunes are related in the great Middle High German *Kudrun*. The earlier form of the story, in regard to which we get our chief testimony from northern sources, was surely known to the Anglo-Saxons. There are unmistakable references to the Hildesaga in one of the oldest portions of *Widsith*.[1] It is important to remember, however, that the Anglo-Saxon version represented by the passage in *Widsith* may well have been different from that in *Deor*, and that both of these probably varied from the story as we get it in Scandinavian monuments. This matter will be discussed in detail a little later. I would first suggest that the key to the interpretation of the third stanza, and to the "experiences" of Deor, may lie in this tale. References to the Hilde-story have of course been frequently pointed out in the closing lines, but the conclusions drawn from them seem to me to have missed the point. Professor Klaeber has seen a parallel to the love-motive of ll. 15–16 in the version told by Saxo, but he apparently considered it of minor importance, "auch die heisse gegenseitige Liebe des Hithinus und der Hilda könnte erwähnt werden," and he developed it no further.[2]

[1] Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713, says: "so steht in jedem Falle fest, dass die Sage von Hagen und Heden im 7. Jahrh. in England bekannt gewesen ist." He might safely have put it earlier.

[2] Since the above was written, I notice that Mr. Stopford Brooke has suggested that "there may have been a full stanza about Hild, and another about Geat, and that these

It is this point which I would elaborate in some detail. The story as related by Snorri in the "Skáldskaparmál" may first be examined.

A king whose name was Hogni had a daughter named Hild. She was carried off in a plundering expedition by a king named Hedin, the son of Hjarrandi. Hogni had gone meanwhile to the meeting of the kings, but when he found out that his land had been devastated and his daughter stolen away, he fared forth with his men in pursuit of Hedin, and heard that he had sailed away to the north along the coast. When Hogni came to Norway, he learned that Hedin had sailed over the sea to the west. So Hogni pursued him all the way to the Orkney Isles, and when he reached the island of Haey, Hedin and his men were already there.

Then Hild went out to meet her father, and offered him a necklace as a peace-offering in the name of Hedin, but she told him further that Hedin was ready for combat, and that Hogni need not look for mercy at his hands. Hogni answered his daughter rudely, and when she returned to Hedin, she told him that Hogni wished no compromise, and bade him prepare himself for battle.

And this they did on both sides; they landed and drew up in battle array. Then Hedin called to Hogni, his kinsman, and proposed a compromise, and much gold to boot.

Then Hogni said, "Too late dost thou offer me this, if thou art desirous of a truce, for now have I drawn my sword Dainsleif, which was made by dwarfs, and causes the death of a man every time it is bared; never is a stroke given with it in vain, and the wound which it makes never heals."

Then Hedin answered, "You may boast of your sword, but not yet of the victory; I call a sword good which serves its master well!"

Then they began the combat which is called the Hjathning fight, and they kept it up all day; but at evening the kings returned to their ships. But Hild went at night to the battle-field, and raised up all the dead men by means of magic. And on the next day the kings went to the place of combat, and fought, and with them all those who had fallen on the previous day.

So the fight was continued, one day after another, and all those that were slain, and all their weapons and shields which lay on the field, were turned to stone. But when day dawned, all the dead men stood up and fought, and all weapons were made new. It is said in lays, that the Hjathnings shall continue thus until the day of doom.[1]

two persons are not connected at all, but have here got together by the loss of four or five lines. . . . . But this is a guess and no more." By the story of Hild he means "the tale of Hogni and Hedinn, in which Hild, the daughter of Hogni, is basely ravished away by Hedinn," etc. There is no evidence of a gap beyond the difficulty of interpretation. Mr. Brooke evidently attached little weight to this suggestion (*Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, 462; cf. also Sandbach, *Nibelungenlied and Gudrun* [London, 1904], 188).

[1] "Skáldskaparmál," *Snorra Edda*, cap. 57.

Such is the story as related by Snorri. It by no means represents the earlier form of the story in its purity, but, as Symons[1] has noted, exhibits a confusion of two different motives, the carrying away of Hild and the fight between her husband and her father, and the waking of the dead and the everlasting combat. The second motive itself appears in an awkward and debased form.[2] There is no very striking parallel in Snorri's account to the lines in *Deor's Lament*, but the situation appears to be quite otherwise with the passages in Saxo which tell this story. It seems unnecessary to give Saxo's version in full; the significant portions are these:[3]

Meanwhile Hedin, prince of a considerable tribe of the Norwegians, approached the fleet of Frode with a hundred and fifty vessels. Choosing twelve out of these, he proceeded to cruise nearer, signalling the approach of friends by a shield raised on the mast. He thus greatly augmented the forces of the king, and was received into this closest friendship. A mutual love afterwards arose between this man and Hilda, the daughter of Hogni, a chieftain of the Jutes, and a maiden of most eminent renown. For, though they had not yet seen one another, each had been kindled by the other's glory. But when they had a chance of beholding one another, neither could look away; so steadfast was the love that made their eyes linger.

Meanwhile, Frode distributed his soldiers through the towns, and carefully gathered in the materials needed for the winter supplies; but even so he could not maintain his army, with its burden of expense: and plague fell upon him almost as great as the destruction that met the Huns. Therefore, to prevent the influx of foreigners, he sent a fleet to the Elbe to take care that nothing should cross; the admirals were Revil and Mevil. When the winter broke up, Hedin and Hogni resolved to make a raid together, for Hogni did not know that his partner was in love with his daughter. Now Hogni was of unusual stature, and stiff in temper; while Hedin was very comely, but short. Also, when Frode saw that the cost of keeping up his army grew daily harder to bear, he sent Roller to Norway, Olmar to Sweden, King Onef and Glomer, a rover captain, to the Orkneys for supplies, each with his own forces. Thirty kings followed Frode, and were his friends or vassals. But when Hun heard that Frode had sent away his forces he mustered another and a fresh army. But Hogni betrothed his daughter to

[1] *Kudrun* (Halle, 1883), 10.

[2] Cf. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage* (Leipzig, 1906), 187.

[3] For convenience, I give the English translation of Elton (London, 1894) for the outline of the narrative. Although one might occasionally suggest a more felicitous rendering of certain expressions, it has seemed best to make no alterations. The Latin of the more important passages is given below.

Hedin, after they had sworn to one another that whichever of them should perish by the sword should be avenged by the other.

(There follows a description of the ensuing campaigns.)

Meantime certain slanderous tongues accused Hedin to Hogni of having tempted and defiled his daughter before the rites of betrothal; which was then accounted an enormous crime by all nations. So the credulous ears of Hogni drank in this lying report, and with his fleet he attacked Hedin who was collecting the king's dues among the Slavs; there was an engagement, and Hogni was beaten, and went to Jutland. And thus the peace instituted by Frode was disturbed by intestine war, and natives were the first to disobey the king's law. Frode, therefore, sent men to summon them both at once, and inquired closely what was the reason of their feud. When he had heard it, he gave judgment according to the terms of the law he had enacted; but when he saw that even this could not reconcile them (for the father obstinately demanded his daughter back), he decreed that the quarrel should be settled by the sword—it seemed the only remedy for ending the dispute. The fight began, and Hedin was grievously wounded; but when he began to lose blood and bodily strength, he received an unexpected mercy from his enemy. For though Hogni had an easy chance of killing him, yet, pitying his youth and beauty, he constrained his cruelty to give way to clemency. And so, loth to cut off a stripling who was panting at his last gasp, he refrained his sword. For of old it was accounted shameful to deprive of his life one who was ungrown or a weakling; so closely did the antique bravery of champions take heed of all that could incline them to modesty. So Hedin, with the help of his men, was taken back to his ship, saved by the kindness of his foe.

In the seventh year after, these same men began to fight on Hedin's isle, and wounded each other so that they died. Hogni would have been lucky if he had shown severity rather than compassion to Hedin when he had once conquered him. They say that Hilda longed so ardently for her husband, that she is believed to have conjured up the spirits of the combatants by her spells in the night in order to renew the war.[1]

While there is much in the details of this account which points to a reworking in later days, and while even the connection of the episode with the campaigns of Frode or Frotho IV cannot represent a very early form of the tale, it is by no means certain that some of the incidents are not indicative of a more archaic form of the story than that given by Snorri. According to Olrik,[2] the sources for this particular passage are Danish, not Icelandic-Norwegian. Which of the two peoples developed the material first is still a matter of

[1] Elton, *Saxo Grammaticus*, 195 ff.

[2] *Aarbog for nord. Oldk. og Hist.* (1892), 132.

dispute, and indeed is perhaps an insoluble question. But it is worth noting that in Saxo the two motives emphasized in *Deor* appear very plainly. First, the passionate love between Hedin and Hild, a thing rarely so strongly emphasized in heroic poetry, which has been noted as a parallel by Professor Klaeber. "At ubi mutue conspeccionis copia incidit, neuter obtutum ab altero remittere poterat; adeo pertinax amor oculos morabatur. . . . . Ferunt Hildam tanta mariti cupiditate flagrasse, ut noctu interfectorum manes reintegrandi belli gracia carminibus excitasse credatur."[1] Second, the violation-motive: "Interea Hithinus apud Hoginum quorundam obtrectacione insimulatus est, quasi filiam eius ante sponsalium sacra stupri illecebris temerasset, quod tunc immane cunctis gentibus facinus habebatur."[2] And this motive is of great importance, for it, and not the stealing of Hild, is made the cause of the combat in which the father and the lover engage. Panzer, in his study of the Hilde-Gudrun saga, contends that Saxo's account stands nearer to the original form of the saga than has usually been thought the case.[3] Curiously enough, he emphasizes just these two points which we have observed in *Deor*. Both the love-motive and the violation-motive appear in certain *märchen* which Panzer believes closely related to the saga. Too much weight should not be attached to the first of these; love is likely to be fervid in fairy-tales. Panzer's theory of the development of the story out of the *Goldner-märchen* has not met with universal acceptance, by any means, but even if his own elaborate hypothesis does not stand, the resemblances which he has shown in this *märchen* are worth notice, as perhaps affording additional evidence for the evolution of the saga.

The question now arises, as to how "Geat" fits into the story. The name has always been a source of perplexity. It appears to occur elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon only in the royal genealogies.[4] Mr. Chadwick considers that "since the passage [in *Deor*] has a strong resemblance to what is said of Frey in *Skírnismál* it is at least possible that the divine ancestor of the kings is meant."[5] This makes

[1] Saxo, ed. Holder, Strassburg (1886), 158 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, 160.

[3] Cf. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 318 ff.

[4] Cf. Haack, *Zeugnisse zur altengl. Heldensage*, Kieler diss., 1893, for a convenient summary of the genealogical material.

[5] *Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge (Eng.), 1907, 271.

it necessary to assume that a passionate love such as was felt for a maiden by Frey or Balder is here attributed to the hero Geat. This Geat appears as a god in Florence of Worcester's genealogical line, and also in Symeon of Durham's, but these were obviously borrowed, as the identity of language proves, from a passage in Asser's life of Alfred. In Asser's account we read "qui fuit Geata, quem Getam iamdudum pagani pro deo venerabantur." This seems to be due, however, to the misunderstanding of a passage in Sedulius, which follows in Asser's text. The biographer of Alfred confused the Terentian slave Geta with the hero Geat.[1] It is therefore unsafe to make much of the divinity of this Geat, as Mr. Chadwick acknowledges,[2] although he somewhat incautiously speaks of him later as "the divine ancestor of the kings." The hypothesis that we have here an Anglo-Saxon version of the *Skírnismál* story rests solely on the love-longing-motive and on nothing else.

It is possible that Geat may be not a personal but a tribal name, and that the line should be translated "The love of the Geat (i.e., Hedin) was so boundless," etc. It is evident from the first line of this stanza that the poet considered the situation perfectly familiar to his hearers—"many of us have heard of Hild," is the way he puts it. Consequently there would be nothing strange in referring to her lover in this casual way, just as Beowulf is mentioned, when he finds favor in the eyes of Wealhtheow,

> Þām wīfe þā word wēl līcodon,
> gilp-cwide Gēates.[3]

Several considerations must be borne in mind in judging of this hypothesis. In the first place, there is absolutely no uniformity in the localization of Hedin's kingdom in the different versions of the story. Saxo and the Bravalla poem place it in Norway, the Danish *Kununktallit* in Denmark, the *Sǫrlaþátt* and the *Gǫngu-hrólfssaga* in "Serkland" or India—in the romantic antipodes. The Middle High German *Kudrun* exhibits the greatest confusion. Hetel is said to rule over "Hegelingen," Denmark, Stürmen, Dietmarschen, Friesland, Holstein, Livland, Ortland, and Wales. Widsith informs us that Heodena ruled the Glommas, a people who have

[1] Cf. Asser, ed. Stevenson (1904), 3, and note, p. 163.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 270.

[3] Ll. 640–41.

never been identified, even conjecturally. Hagen-Hogni's kingdom is placed in Denmark in the majority of the sources. Snorri merely says it was south of Norway and Saxo specifies it as Jutland. The *Kudrun* removes it to Ireland. Widsith calls Hagena's people the Holmrygas, generally supposed to be the Ulmerigi of Jordanes at the mouth of the Vistula. The fight between Hedin and Hogni shifts from place to place in the different versions, being now in the Orkneys, now on the island of Rügen, now at the mouth of the Schelde, etc. It is plain that the scene of the action and the nationality of the actors were varied as the story was retold among different peoples.[1]

In the second place it must be noted that there is no general agreement among scholars as to the origin and transmission of the material. Symons believes in a northern origin (cf. his preface to *Kudrun*, 21), but has since spoken less confidently (Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713 f.), while still supporting the Scandinavian hypothesis. Panzer believes the northern material a secondary development.[2] Jiriczek rightly observes that decision in this matter is impossible.[3] The early material is too scanty and the indications which it affords are too vague to permit of definite conclusions.

We get little satisfaction, then, in the attempt to locate the personages of the story in the version current among the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the composition of this lyric. It is worth while to examine the evidence in *Widsith*, although it must be repeated that the situation there does not, in all probability, hold for *Deor*. In the mnemonic list in the early part of *Widsith* we read:

Cāsēre wēold Crēacum and Cælic Finnum,
Hagena Holm-Rygum and Heoden Glommum.
Witta wēold Swæfum, Wada Haelsingum,
Meaca Myrgingum, Mearchealf Hundingum.

The Ulmerigi of Jordanes, supposedly identical with the Holmrygas, appear to have been settled at the mouth of the Vistula, but they subsequently migrated elsewhere, ultimately reappearing as the Holmrygir in Norway. It would be necessary to know the date of this list in *Widsith*—it must be very old—in order to know where

[1] For details the reader is referred to Panzer, 101 ff., 431 ff.
[2] Pp. 434 ff. [3] P. 188.

the Holmrygas were conceived as dwelling, but it is generally thought at the present time that this memory-list[1] is old enough to put them in about the same region as Jordanes did. The coupling of the two names, with the mention of Wate in the next line, is a pretty clear indication that a saga-connection between them had become established. The poet of *Deor*, which must have been written much later than this passage, in all probability not on the Continent at all, as we shall see, may well have conceived these migratory peoples, if he had a clear idea of their position at all, in a very different situation from that set forth in *Widsith*. For the Glommas may well have been one of those many small migratory tribes which ultimately settled farther East in Scandinavia, their name having been lost as they were merged in other peoples, just as the Ulmerigi became, as time went on, a part of the Norwegians. May the Glommas have settled later in the Scandinavian peninsula? No conclusions can be drawn from the Hælsingas, the people of Wate, even if we assume that their proximity to the Hilde-saga heroes in the passage in *Widsith* is significant, since there is no agreement among scholars as to their identification. No sound ethnological argument is possible here; the evidence is too meager.[2]

Panzer thinks all indications point to Denmark as the real home of the saga. Whatever one may think of the elaborate arguments by which he supports this view, it is reasonable to suppose that the abduction by sea, which appears in all extant versions, may well have been located along the coast-lands of northern Europe, and have shifted according to the interests of the different peoples who developed it. If, as the majority of the sources suggest, the kingdom of Hagen was located somewhere in Danish territory, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the domain of Hedin might have been put by the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the composition of this poem in the southern Scandinavian territory opposite, and a situation similar to the relation of the Geats and the Danes in *Beowulf* created. As regards the vexed question of the location of the Geats, which is not of great importance in the present discussion, one may almost

[1] "Uralte versus memoriales" (ten Brink).

[2] For a fuller analysis of *Widsith*, cf. *Modern Philology*, IV, 329 ff. With this should be compared the discussions by Bremer, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, and Schütte, *Oldsagn om Godtjod* (Copenhagen, 1907).

consider the Fahlbeck-Bugge hypothesis definitively disproved by the recent monograph by Schück.[1]

That this third stanza deals with the Hilde-saga is rendered still more probable by the closing lines, in which the poet proclaims himself to have been minstrel of the Heodenings, or the people of Hedin. However we are to explain this, it is natural to suppose that he might have drawn one of his *exempla* from the famous story connected with this name. It is important to observe, however, that the interpretation of the passage at the end of the poem is in no wise dependent upon the third stanza. Whatever one may think of the meaning of the stanza we have just been discussing, he can approach the significance of the poem as a whole as a separate problem, though one which will be illuminated by a thorough understanding of the separate sections. In the present state of our knowledge, no one can dogmatize about "Hild" and "Geat"—the passage is too brief, too corrupt, and too allusive.

## IV

We now return to the question how far the experiences of Deor as a court minstrel are to be accepted as genuine autobiography. Some justification for treating the word Deor as a proper name may first be in order. The half-line *mē wæs Dēor noma* has for various reasons given critics pause.

Panzer asks,[2] "Warum *Dēor?* Und *wæs;* also nur in jener Stellung hiess er so, aus der Heorrenda ihn verdrängte, und dieser übernahm wohl auch den Namen *Dēor.*" Panzer's further discussion gives the impression of having been written to fit a theory, and need not be considered here. There is no intimation whatever that Heorrenda succeeded to the name Deor. The preterit *wæs* is used, since that was the name which the singer bore among the Heodenings. Nicknames were commonly given to skalds; when one first attached himself to the service of a northern potentate he was likely to find himself renamed. In the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason,* for example, a minstrel named Hallfred comes to king Olaf, and the following conversation ensues:[3]

[1] *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1907), Prog. 2.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 311.

[3] I use the translation of Morris and Magnûsson, *Heimskringla*, I, 338 (cap. xc).

"From all that is told me," said the king, "thou art neither so wise nor so meek but it seemeth like enough to me that thou mayest do some deed or other which I may in no wise put up with."

"Slay me then," said Hallfred.

The king said: "Thou art a Troublous-skald; but my man shalt thou be now."

Answereth Hallfred: "What wilt thou give me, king, for a name-gift, if I am to be called Troublous-skald?"

So, too, King Hrolf Kraki renames Hött, calling him Hjalti, in the *Hrólfssaga Kraka.*[1]

Rieger remarks,[2] "Ich kann mich nicht entschliessen, nach Grein 'Deor's Klage' zu citieren. B. m. wyrd. 42 heisst es von dem gehangten *bið him wearg* (so Ettmüller einleuchtend für *werig* des mscr.) *noma:* dem entsprechend heisst *mē waes dēor noma* nichts anders als 'ich wurde teuer gennant.'"

We may dismiss Rieger's interpretation immediately, since *dēor* does not mean "carus, dilectus," the word for which is *dēore* or *dȳre*, as in the first half of this line. *Dēor* is here ultimately either the adjective "bold," as Müllenhoff suggested, or it is the noun *dēor*, "the deer," "the wild animal." It is quite as likely to be the latter. In either case it is to be treated as a proper name. Scandinavian singers were often given animal names, "the he-goat" (*Björn bukkr*), "the calf" (*Hvannar-Kálfr*); cf. the *Skjaldefortegnelse* in Jónsson's *Oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie.* In the first of these cases, the real meaning of the name Björn, "the bear," has been so far forgotten that the man can receive a second name as little congruous with it as "the calf." In one case, a skald was actually named *Helge dýr* or *dýrr* (Jónsson, p. 478). A similar ambiguity in meaning exists here as in the word *dēor.* Whether the Anglo-Saxon singer's appellation meant "the deer" or "the brave one," then, it is hard to say. Just what Rieger meant by "ich wurde teuer genannt" is not plain; he did not explain further. Apparently he considered the adjective not as a name, but a complimentary epithet frequently applied. It is really impossible to limit it thus, since proper names in Germanic were to a great extent merely crystallized epithets. A criminal might be known as Eadweard wearh, Edward Outlaw, in which the second word had come

[1] Cap. xxiii.

[2] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VII, 30.

to be a part of the man's name, as in the phrase quoted by Rieger from the *Fates of Men*. In the present instance, even if *dēor* is to be taken as ultimately the word "brave," I see no reason for not capitalizing it, and printing it as a proper name, as much as such names as Grim or Frod.[1]

The elucidation of this line throws no particular light upon the autobiographical question. Deor was a name which a singer might very well hold, as the Scandinavian parallel shows. It might have been borne by a real man, or have been given to a fictitious character. For the solution of the main question in hand, we must look farther.

"The sons of Hedin," says Professor Gummere, "are shadowy folk." As far as their ethnography is concerned, this is true, but the implications connected with their name are definite enough. An Anglo-Saxon, we may be sure, on hearing of the Heodeningas would connect them with the Heoden or Hedin whom we have just been considering as the hero of the Hilde-saga. This is confirmed by the mention of Heorrenda, who is, almost beyond a doubt, an earlier incarnation of the singer Horant of *Kudrun*. Critics are practically agreed as to this.[2] That Heorrenda was a famous singer is borne out by the mention of a *Hjarranda-hljóð* in the *Herraudssaga ok Bosa*.[3] That Hedin's father in Snorri's version of the story is named Hjarrandi introduces the perplexing question whether he has any relation to the singer, and if so, how the confusion in names arose.[4] Panzer's elaborate theory[5] that Heorrenda and Heoden

[1] Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon*.

[2] Notice that Symons' views have somewhat altered; cf. his preface to *Kudrun* (1883), p. 5, and Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713 f.: "Die Sangeskunst in der Sage, wenn nicht von jeher, so doch bereits sehr früh an Herrando haftete." "Es ist eine anerkannte Tatsache, dass dieser Heorrenda [i.e., in *Deor*] der Horand unserer Kudrun ist."—Detter und Heinzel, *PBB*, XVIII, 552. See also Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage*, 199; ten Brink, *History English Lit.*, transl. Kennedy, I, p. 60.

[3] Ed. Jiriczek, Strassburg, 1893, 46.

[4] Cf. Symons' discussion, *Grundriss, loc. cit.*, with Meyer's, *PBB*, XVI, 523. Meyer says, "Für mich folgt weiter nichts aus der Stelle, als dass es einst einen berühmten Sänger Heorrenda-Hjarrandi gegeben habe—dessen Existenz schon durch die Erwähnung der Hjarrandahljóð . . . . erwiesen ist—und zwar am Hofe der Heodeningen. . . . . Heorrenda ist doch nichts anders als Deor, ein fremder Sänger. Die Uebereinstimmung des Namens mit dem vom Heðins Vater kann zufällig sein." Sandbach, *Nibelungenlied and Kudrun*, p. 187, comments, "Possibly the author of *Deor's Lament* knew a form of the story in which Heorrenda played Horand's rôle without being a relative of his master; at the very least, he must have known some story in which Heorrenda, the singer of the Heodenings (Hegelings), was an important character."

[5] "Auch die Darstellung dieses ags. Zeugnisses erklärt sich eben nur dann, wenn Horand und Hetel ursprünglich eine Person waren. Der sangeskundige Heorrenda,

were originally one and the same person will certainly not hold for the passage under discussion. It is hard to see how such a theory can be seriously maintained. These critical disputes do not really concern us here; the important thing to note is that Deor tells us he was once at the court of the people of the famous hero Hedin, and that he was supplanted in favor by Heorrenda, later celebrated for his minstrelsy in the Middle High German version of the Hilde-story under the name of Horant.

Is it not perfectly clear that we are dealing with an imaginary situation, not with actual fact? Deor asserts himself to have been the favored minstrel of Heoden, a great figure of Germanic story, just as Widsith claimed Eormanric and Alboin and the rest as patrons. At the same time he makes it plain that the loss of his position was due to no less eminent a man than Heorrenda, celebrated in saga for his gift of song. His tale seems very simple and circumstantial—consider the mention of the *londryht*, for example, and the name that the Heodenings bestowed on him—but so do the details of Widsith's narrative, such as the six hundred *sceats* on his arm-band. I have elsewhere[1] tried to show how easily one is misled by this kind of "evidence" in early poetry, particularly in connection with the supposed autobiographical element in *Widsith*, and to that criticism I must refer for a detailed discussion of this matter. Deor's artless way of introducing his own case, moreover, is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon lyric when it deals with a purely imaginary situation. His phraseology itself recalls the Seafarer's confidences. Deor says, *þæt ic bī mē sylfum secgan wille;* the Seafarer, *mæg ic be mē sylfum sōðgied wrecan.* Does anyone suppose that the writer of *The Seafarer* must have been a mariner? Certainly not; he is, like the Wanderer, an imaginary figure, vividly conceived and presented. In *The Wife's Lament* we have a strikingly realistic dramatic monologue, spoken, in all probability, by the

der zugleich Heoden war, konnte in der alten Sage ebenso wohl *Heodeninga cyning* wie *Heodeninga scop* genannt werden, von letzterer Bezeichnung aber konnte die Umdeutung des ags. Gedichtes um so leichter ausgehen, als Heoden nach dem Berichte des Märchens wie der Sage ja thatsächlich (in dienender Stellung) an fremden Königshöfe seine Sangeskunst ausübt."—Panzer, p. 311. How can Heorrenda be Heoden, succeeding to the privileges which he has himself conferred on the singer? If in the *märchen* the hero did sing at foreign courts, there is no indication of this here. He is among his own people. But the whole theory is too preposterous to consider further.

[1] *Modern Philology*, IV, No. 2, 368 ff.

unfortunate heroine of the Offa-saga. So poignant is its pathos that one may almost mistake it for the actual outpouring of an anguished heart. But whatever one may think as to the story, he will hardly maintain that it was actually written by a lady who had suffered these experiences herself.

So, then, there is really no more reason to read autobiographical significance into the *Song of Deor* than into *My Last Duchess* or *Andrea del Sarto*. If the personal history of the poet of those two dramatic monologues were not so well known, it might be possible to defend an argument that he had once murdered his wife or found her lacking in the sympathy due from a spouse to a man of artistic temperament. And, in the same way, one may say that the poet who created *Deor* was a slighted minstrel. But the tale which he tells is as clearly in the region of the imagination as are the narratives of the two Browning soliloquizers. That the little story creates the impression of reality is the best evidence of its artistry—no bungling poet could have written it. Deor is indeed "artistically an individual," but not "a definite man who tells us as a matter of the witness-box his own emotion and thought." There is no evidence that the events of the Hilde-saga are other than the creation of fable. It is not certain that the names are historical. There is not even the slight basis for making the piece a human document which the experiences of Widsith at the court of Alboin present. We are dealing with pure fancy, with an effort to secure interest in the fortunes of an imaginary bard by connecting him with a legendary prince whose court was famed for its minstrelsy.

Nothing indicates, then, that the piece is of especial antiquity. It may well enough belong in the eighth century, where it appears to be safe to place the majority of the Anglo-Saxon lyrics. To assign to it a continental origin is to violate antecedent probability and argue for a case unsupported by tangible evidence.

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Since the preceding discussion was written, Dr. Svet. Stefanovič has suggested (*Anglia*, N.F., XXI, 397–402) a new solution of ll. 14–17. With his general interpretation of the stanza as a love-episode I am in hearty

agreement, and I think his explanation of l. 17 as "dass sie die kummer-[sorgen]volle liebe des schlafes ganz beraubte" more in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom than the usual one. Moreover, it requires only one emendation (*slæp* to *slæpe*) instead of two, and accords well with the interpretation of the passage suggested above, affording an even closer parallel, perhaps, to Saxo's account of the passion of Hild for Hedin. But Dr. Stefanovič believes that the lines reveal an incestuous love of Woden, whom he equates with Geat, the well-known figure of the genealogies, for the Valkyrie Hilde, his daughter. This theory he supports as follows: "Am meisten wird diese annahme einer liebesverfolgung einer Walkyr durch Wodan (Geat) unterstützt durch eine parallele verfolgung der mit Hilde zusammen erwähnten Walkyre Thryðo durch ihren bösen vater (Thor), der in der 'Vita Offae' I wohl schon zu einem namenlosen könige von York herabgesunken ist, dessen mythischen charakter ich aber durch mehrere analoge volksmärchen nachgewiesen habe. Der unter einer sorgenvollen liebe des gottes Geat—Wodan—leidenden Walkyre Hilde, entspricht hier die durch unkeusche liebe des vaters (Thor's?) verfolgte Thryðo; diesem vater Thryðo's enspricht in 'Deor' Geat—Wodan, der herrscher der Wallhall, öfters auch vater der Walkyren genannt."

Several objections to this theory present themselves immediately. In the first place, the episode is entirely hypothetical; there is, so far as I am aware, no such account of an amour between Woden and Hilde, even if we accept the equation Geat = Woden without hesitation. In the second place, the "parallel pursuit" of Thrytho by Thor is also hypothetical. In the third place, such a story as that in the Offa-legend, in which a girl is tormented by the advances of an unnatural father, and ultimately flees from him, is hardly suggested by the line "dass sie die sorgenvolle liebe des schlafes ganz beraubte," as this seems to indicate that she herself felt love in this immoral relationship, whereas she is represented as overcome by shame and horror, her refusal causing her to take refuge in flight or to be severely punished—unless, indeed, we assume that the story in the Anglo-Saxon lyric differed in making the heroine guilty of returning the love of her father, in which case we are more up in the air than ever. It is worth noticing that Dr. Stefanovič goes back on his parallel, "Ich glaube nicht, dass die liebesverfolgung in diesen beiden mythen analog war; vielmehr, dass sie schon in jener alten zeit von einander abweichende gestalten erhalten haben. Ueber blosse vermutungen kommt man da aber nicht weiter hinaus." In this last sentence Dr. Stefanovič has himself furnished the sharpest possible criticism of his own theory.

W. W. L.